

Ex-C.I.A. Aide Lists Big Grants to Unions

SAYS A.F.L.-C.I.O. GOT SECRET CASH

Federation Official Denies Receiving Any Funds for Foreign Operations

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former California publisher who says he organized the Central Intelligence Agency's secret links to private groups here and abroad has listed prominent American labor leaders among the recipients of large cash subsidies for their anti-Communist activities.

The publisher, Thomas W. Braden, who headed the C.I.A.'s Division of International Organization from 1951 to 1954, said he personally gave \$50,000 to Walter and Victor Reuther of the United Automobile Workers. He has also described numerous secret subsidies for foreign operations by Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown, who manage international affairs for the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Walter P. Reuther, in a statement responding to Mr. Braden's assertions, today that on "one occasion" his union had accepted C.I.A. funds to meet an emergency situation. He said also that Mr. Braden had tried to recruit his brother, Victor, as a C.I.A. agent but was turned down. Mr. Braden later denied that he had tried to recruit Victor Reuther as an agent.

The other union officials, as well as their leader, George Meany, who heads the A.F.L.-C.I.O., and Victor Reuther have all recently denounced or denied union links to the intelligence agency.

After Mr. Braden's assertions were distributed to newspapers, Mr. Lovestone, saying that he spoke with Mr. Brown, described them as "completely untrue."

Victor Reuther, reached by The New York Times in Tokyo yesterday, said he found it difficult to comment before he saw the entire Braden statement, but he called a description of it "incredible" and

"ridiculous." Mr. Brown has not been available for comment.

Mr. Braden described his activities with the C.I.A. in the current issue of The Saturday Evening Post and answered questions in a telephone interview.

He said he thought he was only confirming what had already been generally disclosed about C.I.A. operations. He did so, he said, to defend the agency against "wild and scurrilous" charges and to suggest to Americans the necessity and value of covert anti-Communist activities.

In developing his argument, he also asserted the following:

"The C.I.A. 'placed' an 'agent' in the Congress for Cultural Freedom, an organization of leading European and American intellectuals. 'Another agent became an editor of Encounter,' a London-based intellectual monthly once supported by the congress, he said. These 'agents' suggested programs and projects to the C.I.A. and arranged for agency subsidies that were channeled through real or dummy foundations, Mr. Braden said.

"The C.I.A. gave cash 'along with advice' to other labor leaders, to students, professors and generally to anyone who could help the United States 'in its battle with Communist fronts.'"

"The C.I.A. organized seamen's unions in India and in the Baltic ports of Scandinavian countries; it created wholly controlled organizations, such as the International Committee of Women, and seized control of others, including the World Assembly of Youth, an inactive group based in Dakar that turned out to be in the hands of French intelligence agents."

"To circumvent severe financial or security restrictions of Congress and the rest of the United States Government, the C.I.A. secretly financed some quite innocent cultural activities, including a visit to France by the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1952.

Denial by Editors

A spokesman for the press said he doubted that anyone connected with it ever knew of the agency's support.

A co-editor of Encounter in London and two former editors of the magazine, now in New York, firmly denied Mr. Braden's allegations.

The executive director of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, Michael Josselson, said in Geneva that he was "aware of the matter"—apparently meaning the Braden statements—but could make no comment. The general assembly of the congress is meeting next week to discuss all questions relating to the C.I.A., he said, and will probably authorize some com-

ment thereafter.

The channelling of more than \$1-million to the congress through various foundations was disclosed earlier this year when newspapers and magazines unraveled an elaborate network of organizations and foundations used to dispense C.I.A. funds to anti-Communist programs abroad. Encounter magazine has also been linked to this network in the last year, but its editors have always implied that they knew nothing about it.

After The New York Times reported a year ago that the magazine had received indirect C.I.A. subsidies, Melvin J. Lasky, its co-editor, and Stephen Spender and Irving Kristol, former editors, wrote to The Times that "we are our own masters and are part of nobody's propaganda."

"Does The Times want the reader to infer that the editorial content or that the past or present editors of Encounter were in any way influenced by the C.I.A.?" they asked.

Mr. Braden refused to name the C.I.A. "agents" in the congress or the magazine, nor would he describe what kind of agents he meant. The agency, he said, used the term "agent" to describe both "witting" and

"unwitting" operatives. But his article in the Saturday Evening Post clearly implies that the persons involved were "agents" before they were "placed" in the congress and "became an editor" of Encounter.

Mr. Lasky, when reached by The Times in London, said that until learning of Mr. Braden's article he had never heard of him. He called the assertion "absolutely ridiculous" and

grievously mistaken.

Mr. Lasky said Mr. Braden may have had intimate knowledge of some of the other things of which he spoke in the Saturday Evening Post article but he doubted very much that he had direct experience with anything involving Encounter magazine.

Mr. Lasky pointed out that Mr. Braden's experience with the C.I.A. covered only the years 1950 to 1954—a time when Mr. Lasky had not yet joined Encounter.

Encounter was organized in 1953 by Mr. Kristol and Mr. Spender. Mr. Kristol left in 1958 and was replaced as co-editor by Mr. Lasky. In the last few years Mr. Spender has served as a contributing editor, but he resigned yesterday partly as a result of the C.I.A. controversy.

Mr. Kristol issued the following statement:

"I regard the article in the Saturday Evening Post, in so far as it cast doubt upon the integrity of all editors of En-

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